Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

# Message Text

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 09251 301318Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03
NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SP-02 SS-15
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R 301239Z DEC 76
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5798
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 9251

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CSCE, PL, XH
SUBJECT: POLISH APPROACH TO BELGRADE '77

REF: (A) WARSAW 8876, (B) MOSCOW 19944

1. AN ARTICLE BY ZBIGNIEW LESNIKOWSKI IN TRYBUNA LUDU'S DECEMBER 28 EDITION, ENTITLED "FROM HELSINKI TO BELGRADE, AN UNDERTAKING WHICH CANNOT BE WRECKED," PROVIDES A GOOD EXAMPLE OF AN EASTERN EUROPEAN MEDIA APPROACH TO THE BELGRADE CSCE FOLLOW-UP TALKS.

2. STRESSING SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY, LESNIKOWSKI LUMPS TO-GETHER CSCE, DETENTE, DISARMAMENT, MBFR, SALT, AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION INTO A SINGLE GRAND STRATEGY FOR PEACE,
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 WARSAW 09251 301318Z

WITH THE USSR AS THE MOTIVATING FORCE. THE AUTHOR LAYS BLAME FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS ON "NON-OBJECTIVE" WESTERN NEGOTIATORS AND CITES THE MULTITUDE OF EASTERN DETENTE-RELATED INITIATIVES AS PROOF OF THE SINCERITY OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES AND THEIR FAITH IN THE IRREVERS-IBILITY OF DETENTE.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

3. LESNIKOWSKI CONTENDS THAT "NOW, WHEN ACCORDING TO CAREFUL ANALYSES, THERE ARE OVER 10,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN EUROPE ALONE, ARMS LIMITATION BECOMES THE MOST URGENT IMPERATIVE. BUT THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH CAN BE RESOLVED ONLY WITH GOOD WILL AND A FLEXIBLE APPROACH FROM BOTH SIDES -----COOPERATION IN THE SEARCH FOR REALISTIC COMPROMISES IS, OF COURSE, A PRIMARY CONDITION. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A SECOND REQUIREMENT FOR CONTINUOUS, SYSTEMATIC STRENGTHENING OF THE PROCESS OF RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, WHICH CAN HARDLY CONTINUE AUTOMATICALLY."

4. REGARDING THE BUCHAREST CONFERENCE, LESNIKOWSKI ASKS, "DID THE AUTHORS OF (THE PROPOSAL FOR NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS) COUNT ON ENTHUSIASTIC AND IMMEDIATE APPROBATION OF THEIR PROPOSALS BY THE NATO STRATEGISTS?

OBVIUSLY, NO. THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE BUCHAREST CONFERENCE IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZED THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EUROPE AS ONE WHICH FAVORS THE RESOLUTION OF THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM FIRST OF ALL, WITH AN EYE TO THE SIGNIFICANT DISPROPORTION BETWEEN PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICAL RELAXATION AND THE ABSENCE OF SUCH PROGRESS IN THE REALM OF MILITARY RELAXATION. THE PEACEFUL INTIATIVE WAS TAKEN IN ITS OWN TIME, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO CONSIDER THAT THE WESTERN POLITICIANS WOULD EXAMINE IT KEENLY AND WITH DUE REGARD, PERMITTING CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN AND THE CREATION OF A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION." THE AUTHOR CRITICIZES THE WESTERN CONTENTION THAT THE NON-FIRST-USE PROPOSAL WOULD BENEFIT ONLY THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. HE CONCLUDES THAT "NO REALISTICALLY THINKING
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POLITICIAN, NO GOVERNMENT, WHICH ACCEPTS THAT IDEA OF PEACE AND RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, CAN IGNORE THE PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, PRINCIPLES WHICH ARISE FROM THE MOST PRESSING INTERESTS OF ALL PEOPLES."

5. COMMENT: THIS ARTICLE AND SEVERAL OTHERS LIKE IT WHICH HAVE APPEARED RECENTLY IN THE POLISH PRESS EXPLICITLY LINK CSCE WITH DISARMAMENT, NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, AND OTHER DETENTE-RELATED THEMES. THEY SUGGEST THAT THE EE'S SEE BELGRADE AS A SUITABLE VENUE FOR THEIR DISCUSSION. END COMMENT.
BROWN



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